1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

stated that in 1744 thirty-three Frenchmen visited the Comanches on the R. Jicarilla at the head of the Canadien; east of Taos, and traded them guns. A few years later we read in the Texas Annals that the Comanche are pressing down to Red River, forcing the Lipans into Texas.[3]

Nevertheless, Comanche contacts with the southwest and Texas were merely peripheral at this early date. Archaeology,[4] native tradition, and the evidence of cultural and linguistic analysis all combine to indicate a more northerly location for the Comanches of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Comanches are clearly an offshoot of the northern Shoshoneans.

The languages of the Comanche and northern Shoshone are mutually intelligible, the differences being found in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical morphology. Together with the Gosiute and Shikaviyam tongues of the peoples of the Great Basin, the Shoshonean and Comanche speech form the *Plateau Shoshonean* of the great Uto-Aztekan linguistic stock.[5] The Comanche speech points to a northern identity.

Ancient traditions of the Flathead Indians in the north define the presence of Shoshonean tribes far east of the Rocky Mountains in the territory of the upper Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. This was for the period preceding the eighteenth century. The Shoshoneans mentioned were probably the forebears of the Comanches.[6]

Shoshone and Comanche legends retain the tradition of the separation.

The culture of the Comanche tribe in the third quarter of the nineteenth century—the period from which the materials of this study derive—was a growth developing from the Shoshonean base under the impact of new influences met with on the Plains and in the Southwest.

First among these influences were war and the horse. Aggression from the northeast and the lure of trade and loot in the southwest drew the Comanches to the Spanish frontier, where they became one of the earliest tribes to acquire horses. By adjusting itself to a horse and buffalo economy, Comanche society attained a mobility and plentitude unknown to the northern Shoshones. Fortified with these resources and ultimately with guns, stiffened

[3] G. B. Grinnell, *Who Were the Padoucas?* (American Anthropologist, vol. 22, 1920), p. 260.

[4] W. D. Strong, *Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology* (American Anthropologist, vol. 35, 1933), pp. 271–287.

[5] Edward Sapir, *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (Proceedings, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 65, No. 1, 1930), pp. 5–6.

[6] J. A. Teit, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 44, 1928), pp. 304–305.

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WAR CHIEFS

624 Although the Comanche did not attain such a clear differentiation of function and status of the war chiefs as was the case in the more advanced plains tribes, yet the influence of those tribes upon Comanche life is marked in the complex of patterns pertaining to Comanche war chiefs. The study of the Comanche was made too late to learn all one would like to know about the way of the Comanche war bonnet wearer. The information of present day Indians on this point is often vague and confusing. The use of specific [184] types of war bonnets was not a cultural universal throughout the Comanche tribe. There are indications of notable band differences.

624 565 The wearer of the full-feathered war bonnet was a person of special status in the tribe. Although not organized into an association, the wearers of the full-feathered war bonnet formed a special class. They were known individually as tɛ́kniwap.[1] A man joined the tɛ́kniwap class and was privileged to wear the bonnet by accumulation of sufficient coups, by bestowal of the bonnet as a challenge by the women, or by recovering a bonnet discarded by its owner in flight. These methods will be described.

624 The first road to war chief status is best described in the tale recorded from That's It. (Quotation marks in this and subsequent cases indicate actual transcription of informant's statement.)

Case 1 The Making of a War Chief
Informant: That's It

"The youngest brother wanted to go to war. He was a strong young man, maybe sixteen years old. It was time, he thought, to show his worth to the people.

"He went to his father, telling him of the feeling he had, saying that he wanted to go with the fighters on the raid. His father was glad that his son had such thoughts. 'It is good,' he said. 'And furthermore, my son, I will give you a powerful pony with which to meet our enemies. You shall have a good mule to ride upon the trail, for you must respect your pony. He must be ridden only in battle. Ride upon the mule and lead the pony by its halter until the proper time. When you get to the territory of our enemies it will be time. Leave your mule and get on that pony. Ride [789] him hard like you were meeting the enemy. Do this a short way and stop. Rest! Charge again. Rest once more. Do this four times, my son. Do this, and you will have a pony which will never tire. It will be a famous war pony among the people.'

[197] [1] The word tɛ́kniwap, which in Comanche has come to mean "war leader," is derived from the Shoshone term for peace chief, tégwɔni. Literally translated in Shoshone this means, "good talk thrown out to the people." The Shoshonean war chief is called naβedink tégwɔni, "in war, good talk thrown out to the people." The Comanche peace chief term, panaiδo, it will be remembered, has no generic meaning in the Comanche language.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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pears to be weak. The eyes of about one-half of those studied by Goldstein appear to be slanted slightly to moderately. In most cases the outer canthi are inclined upward, but a few were observed with a downward slant. The so-called Mongolian fold is common among children, but disappears in most cases by the time adulthood is reached.

The Comanche face is broad, even for an Indian people. Goldstein asserts that "In this respect the Comanches are probably exceeded by few or no other tribe." On this wide visage is a broad, high, and long nose with an index of 69.4 as compared to 67.5 for old American whites. In breadth it exceeds that of the Sioux and the Indians of the Southwest, but is practically the same as that of the Shoshones. The depression of the root of the nose is shallow to medium in depth, and the bridge is straight to moderate. The mouth is moderately wide, and the lips are thin. The lower jaw appears to be moderately developed; the chin firm and of medium prominence. All in all, the Comanche exhibits not a "finely sculptured" visage, but rather a heavy face with fairly massive features. In form as well as in personality he is a rugged individual.

Since their arrival in the South Plains, the Comanches have incorporated great numbers of Mexican captives into their tribe, and Mexican infiltration continues today at a rapid pace. Mixture with the Negro seems to have occurred with extreme rarity, if at all. Clark Wissler found that only 62.9 per cent of the Comanches were "full-blood" in 1910, as compared to 96.9 per cent of the Wichitas and 24.2 of the Iowas, the two tribes having respectively the greatest and least amount of alien admixture.[5] That this admixture has continued at an accelerated pace is shown by Marcus S. Goldstein, who believed in 1931 that not more than 10 per cent of the adults could, with any assurance, be considered fullblood.[6]

The Comanches are members of the Uto-Aztekan language family in the sense that English-speaking peoples are Indo-European. The Uto-Aztekan family, which is one of the truly great linguistic stocks of ancient North America, has three major branches: Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean peoples, whose home is centered in the Great Basin region of what is now western United

[5] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, 148.
[6] Goldstein, "Anthropometry of the Comanches," *loc. cit.*, 290.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Comanches

• 197 States, may in turn be subdivided into three linguistic groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages differing both phonetically and morphologically. First, the Mono-Bannock group includes the Monos, the Northern Paiutes (Paviotso), the Snakes of eastern Oregon, and the Bannocks. These are the northernmost representatives of the Uto-Aztekan family. The second group is composed of tribes speaking the mutually intelligible Ute-Chemehuevi dialects of the region where Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona meet, there being also fragments in California. In this group are the Southern Paiutes, the Utes of western Colorado and eastern Utah, the Kawaiisus of south-central California, and the Chemehuevis along the Colorado River in southeastern California. The third group is the Shoshone-Comanche-Koso (Panamint), which includes the Shoshones proper, the Comanches, the Gosiutes in the vicinity of Salt Lake, and the Shikaviyams of California.

The area occupied by the Shoshonean linguistic group was exceeded in North America by that of only two other families, the Algonquian and the Athabascan. In the north the Shoshonean area extended far into Oregon, meeting Shahaptian territory at about forty-four degrees north latitude. It included southwestern Montana and southern Idaho and may have extended into Alberta, Canada. The eastern limits of Shoshonean territory are unknown. Tradition declares that when the Blackfeet entered the Great Plains, they found the country occupied by the Snakes (Shoshone-Comanches). Lewis and Clark reported that the Shoshone bands encountered upon the headwaters of the Columbia had within their recollection lived upon the plains east of the Rocky Mountains and had been driven into their western mountain retreats by tribes who had obtained firearms. Western Kansas, western and central Wyoming, western and central Colorado, northern and eastern New Mexico, and northwestern Texas were at one time Shoshonean territory. The family reached west across the Sierras into California, holding a narrow strip of that state in the northeast, with the western boundary extending in a southwesterly direction to the Pacific between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth parallels.[7]

[7] Edward Sapir, "Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language," American Academy of Arts and Sciences *Proceedings*, Vol. LXV, 5–6; R. M. Zingg, *A Reconstruction of Uto-*

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The People

Although most people of this vast area spoke kindred languages, there was otherwise a wide variation of cultural patterns. The Shoshoneans to the west of the Rocky Mountains differed in culture from their kinsmen east of the mountains. The inhospitable nature of their country compelled those west of the mountains to accept a less adventurous and humbler mode of life. The most western representatives of the family subsisted chiefly on fish caught in coarse grass-nets, on rabbits, snakes, rats, grasshoppers, seeds, and roots. Yet southward a few hundred miles lived the Puebloan Hopi of northeastern Arizona, who differed so widely that they have little in common but linguistic affinity. They lived in villages of adobe and stone houses, were skillful potters and weavers, and derived their subsistence mainly from gardening. On the north and along the entire eastern border of the territory were the Bannock, Ute, Shoshone, and Comanche divisions. None of the latter cultivated the soil, and all derived the greater part of their subsistence from the pursuit of large game. Only the Comanches, however, were dependent almost entirely on the buffalo herds for a livelihood.

The linguistic relation of the Comanches to the Northern Shoshones is so close that it was patent to early observers, and it was on this basis that the derivation of the Comanches from Shoshonean roots was first posited. The two languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest in slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. When one of the authors[8] was doing field work with the Seed-eater Shoshones in Idaho, his Shoshone acquaintances were convinced that he and his wife could speak Shoshone because they could bandy some Comanche words. The fact that they could also phonetically record Shoshone and read it back was the clincher. Susie Lipps, one morning before starting work, said, "At breakfast my husband said, 'Our friends can talk Shoshone. Last night I dreamed and they talked to me in our tongue.'" Her reply was, "Of course they can. They can even write it down

Aztekan History, 1–4; R. H. Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 190–313; Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 555–56; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, "Map of North American Indian Languages," American Ethnological Society *Publication No. 20*. Powell also regarded the Shoshonean-speaking peoples as constituting a distinct linguistic family.

[8] E. A. Hoebel.

The Comanches

197 and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took [198] place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

619 "Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nɜmɜnə: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

621 The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands.
361 The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

621 The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

and child was allotted 160 acres with sections set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness during the trust period. Thus the Comanche became citizens under the allotment system and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

In summary, the history of Comanche contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[33] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[33] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.66-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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197 has linked Uto-Aztecan with Tanoan-Kiowa in an Aztec-Tanoan group,[27] and Whorf and Trager have presented evidence for a relationship between Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan.[28] The Voegelins have more recently designated twelve Uto-Aztecan languages, many comprising several mutually intelligible dialects, as spoken in what is now the United States.[29] Mexico claims a considerable number more, including Nahuatl.[30] These are all by no means equally distinct languages, and the actual degree of relationship among them remains to be worked out;[31] however the affinity between Comanche and Shoshone was recognized at least as early as 1862.[32] The vocabularies collected by Steward[33] for a number of Shoshone dialects show a pronounced similarity both among themselves and to Comanche. The two are essentially dialects of the same language, a fact recognized by their native speakers. As one informant put it, "The Shoshone speak as the Comanche spoke long, long ago". In

[113] [27] Benjamin L. Whorf, The Comparative Linguistics of Uto-Aztecan, AA 37.600-08 (1935).

[113] [27] Edward Sapir, Central and North American Languages, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed., 5.138-41 (London and New York, 1929).

[113] [28] Benjamin L. Whorf and G. L. Trager, The Relationship of Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan, AA 39.609-24 (1937).

[113] [29] C. F. Voegelin and E. W. Voegelin, Map of North American Indian Languages, Publ. of the American Ethnological Society, Publ. 20 (n.d.).

[113] [30] A. L. Kroeber, Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americana, No. 8, (Berkeley, Calif., 1934); and J. Alden Mason, The Classification of the Sonoran Languages (with an Appendix by B. L. Whorf), Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber, (Berkeley, Calif., 1936).

[113] [31] C. F. Voegelin, North American Indian Languages Still Spoken and their Genetic Relationships, Language, Culture, and Personality, pp. 15-40 (p. 21) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[113] [32] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology, p. 473 (London, 1862).

[33] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, pp. 272 ff. (1938).

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197 another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (ʔ, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ẖ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ʔ and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced other phonemes (ʔ or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

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[113] [14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445-502, p. 476 (1940).

[113] [15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11-4 (1948).

[113] [16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransi-
tivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[*] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wi?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kīhpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[*] navukuwá·?a/nakhnI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/navs· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

[194] [*] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

[197] [113] [*] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

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121 contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[47] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 197 192 There are four principal means by which a language may enlarge its vocabulary to accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[47] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC
ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[9] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[10] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[9] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonisation and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[10] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 208 ff. (New York, 1921).

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While we shall discuss primarily terms for the products of White culture, extensions of meanings, as well as the other neologistic devices mentioned above, were likewise employed during the shift of Comanche culture from a Basin-Plateau Shoshonean to a Plains type. In fact, a number of terms have undergone two distinct permutations of meaning: wosA in Shoshone[51] refers to a conical carrying or seed basket, the Comanche extended its meaning to parfleche, and today it refers to a box, pocket, container, or luggage. Similarly, kahnI was used for a brush-covered hut, then a tipi, and now a modern house. In most Basin-Plateau dialects deer is tuhuya or some related form,[52] while in Comanche tihï·yA, the cognate form, was extended to mean horse, and another word, ?arïka? (possibly ?a·*horn* + tïhka? *meat or food*), was coined for deer. Further, a number of newly introduced traits seem to have closer analogues in the old Shoshone rather than in Plains culture: wihtua *bucket*—Sho. *pottery bowl*,[53] ?a·wO *cup, dish, drinking glass*—Sho. *basketry bowl*.[54]

The extension of meaning depends upon the recognition of some resemblance between the new products of the alien culture and objects and ideas present in the native culture. The old and the new are equated on the basis of form, function, and symbolic meaning. Any or all of these three aspects

[51] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2, p. 239 (University of California, 1941).

[52] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, Vocabularies, pp. 272-283 (1938). Robert G. Lathan, Elements of Comparative Philology (London, 1862) gives teheyer for horse.

[53] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 375 (University of California, 1943).

[54] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

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197 may be utilized; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[111] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[112]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of
192 function and symbolic meaning regardless of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[113] *ǂ piaʔe·tĬ *gun (big bow)*; *ta·vE *clock, time of day (sun* compare ta·venItĬ *day)*; *ǂ nava·kA *bullet, lead (its arrow)*.

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĬ *4th of July (big puha day)*; *puharaivo·ʔ *doctor, minister, Christian (puha white man)*; puharavenItĬ *Sunday (puha day)*; puharekĬraivo·ʔ *minister (puha talk white man)*; puharĬvo·pĬ *Bible (puha book, writing)*; *puhahuvia *hymn (puha song)*; puhaknI[114]

[113] [114] [128] [104]

[111] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[112] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[113] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ʔ, a, e, i, ĭ, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[114] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked ǂ appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[128] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

[p. 219-A]

197 192 *church* (*puha house*); suavevuharaivo·? *Catholic* (*cross puha white man*); tamavuharaivo·? *dentist* (*tooth puha white man*).

In similar fashion ?aca?vI, *supernatural*; *guardian spirit*, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle.

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,[39] or at least a similar attitude towards both the religieux and the healer.

192 [128] [197] A representative list of words with extended meanings is given below.[40] The analogies are based chiefly on partial or more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E *electricity* (*lightning* [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? *butcher knife* (*sway-backed* [related to ?ehkwe?ne·tI *a swaybacked person*]); *?eksa·? *dye of any color, vermilion* (*red boiled*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*playing cards*) (*yellow carried on the head* [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisinī band.]); ?ona·vI *salt in any form* (*salt*); ?oyo?rI *belongings, goods, wealth* (*belongings*); *paraivo·? *boss, leader, head* (*so-called peace chief*);[41] paco?E *fresh beef* (*wet*); *pahmU *tobacco in any form* (*tobacco*)

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by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

[39] This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 281-287 (University of California, 1943).

[40] Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

[41] See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 54, pp. 18-20 (1940).

[p. 219-B]

192 *ten*, as clothes; cohpE *pillow* (*headrest, head of bed*); *co·mO *beads* (*bone beads*); savahpaki? *drum* (*drum* [Detrich gives waw vee wihk to ow, woviwihtua *wood bucket*]); sanahpĬ *glue, paste* (*pitch*); sanahkó·?[44] *chewing-gum* (slippery elm bark which was chewed); *sohovokó·? *fig* (*cottonwood fruit*); *suavE *cross, crucifix* (*cross*); suapĬ *soul* (*thought?*);[45] suthai- *bless* (*pity*); hivihkatĬ, hivipĬ *drunk* (hi·vI *drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); hi·kI *awning, umbrella* (*shade*); maniha- *to read, make a fixed speech* (*name something*); na?sihpé·? *ball, baseball* (*gourd* [na? *it's* + *fallen from the cold*]); *nakucI *gunpowder* (*powder*); *nacu?U *medicine* (*medicine*); *nī·tipĬka? *button* (*tipi lacing-pin*); nī·tĭvu?ipĬ *button-hole* (*slits for lacing tipi*); *nohi? *toy, game* (*toy* [nohi *play*]); *wa?ihpĭkwasu? *woman's dress*; wahka?e·tĬ *running, galloping* (said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.); # *wanapĬ *cloth* (*bark*); wa?rohkĭyá·? *pincers, tongs* (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); *wihI *knife* (*flint knife*); wī?aikī- *to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up;* formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (wī?- *instrumental* + ?ai *go* + -kī *causative*); wīhivi? *cup* (old word) (wī- + hivi- *drink* + -?, nominalizer); wīnomenA *move hips back and forth as in copulation;* now *dance, hula*, etc; wokoraI? *serape* (*painted bunting, (bird)* [woko- *pine* + tai *spot*]); yokapĬ *oyster* (mucous, spittle); *yuhU *oil, grease, lard* (*fat*).

192 In order to distinguish the old trait from
193 the new the modifiers taivo·-[46] *White man's,*

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[44] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives pitch for sanako.

[45] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

[46] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

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192 193 197 **and nīmī-** *Indians' or ours*, **are often prefixed** to a word whose meaning has been extended.[97] The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

192 ʔaʔahkáˑʔ *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nīmīʔaʔahkáˑʔ *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ʔaˑ *horn*, katĪ *got*). ʔamawóˑʔ *apple*; nīmīʔamawóˑʔ *red-haw* (tīrīe- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nīmī-). *tīsaaI *perfume*; nīmīrīsaaI *a native perfume made from a plant*. *kahnI *house*; *nīmīkahnI[98] *tipi*. konO *cradle*; also now, *coffin*; nīmīkonO *cradle-board*. ɸ kuhcU[99] *cattle* (*pimoroˑʔ, however, is more common);

Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] [97] Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivo-, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391-403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, p. 436 (1943).

[98] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

[99] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotso for bison.

192 *nïmïkuhcU *buffalo.* kwazu? *shirt, dress;* nïmïkwazu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napI *shoes;* *nïmïnapI *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nïmïnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahI *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hI *hair*); *nïmïwanahI *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nïmïwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yïva·ci? *grapes;* nïmïyïva·ci? *wild grapes.* nïmïvarïvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pï·yI *wild duck;* taivovï·yI *domesticated duck.* nïhkapI *dance;* taivonïhkapI *modern dance.* nïkï·tA *Canada goose;* taivonïkï·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe (White man's sweet).* taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nïmï?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapI *leather;* taivovikapI *leather;* nïmïvikapI *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nïmïmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon (its seeds got);* taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nïmïna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nïmïna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 Comparable to this simple widening of
197 meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the
[828] new cultural borrowings. These are often reflected in a word: kuhcutïvinïnA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yïharïhkapI *one with a hare-lip* (yïhA *fruit worm* + tïhkapI *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[78] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[78] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 sources of the latter type in English.[71]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; ti?i· *killdeer*; civiví· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·[72] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental
197 prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the formation of words by incremental affixation
192 [193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[73] pacahto?i? *pump* (*raise water forcefully with the hands*) [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn* (*turned inside out by heat*) [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikĭ? *bicycle* (*make one's self go with the feet*) [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kĭ, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [71] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[72] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [73] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p. 222-A]

192 sway when first received as rations]; *wokohuhcu? *parrot* (*pine bird*) [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananīkitĭ *movies* (vibrate, flicker); yici?e·tĭ *airplane* (customarily flies); yīyītu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarihkapĭ *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapĭ *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketĭ *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapĭ *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwĭ *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[7] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tihkapĭ *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tiso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopĭ *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhunacu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapĭ *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapĭ *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 197 4.4. In addition to the new descriptive words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was understood in context. If Comanche did not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 197 124

192 197 Many of these periphrastic formations, such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[7] kusitaivo·? *gray, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

[p. 227-A]

192 [197] form and have general currency in the language. Morphologically they are comparable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[80] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

ʔekavItï/namarÏnipkahtu/tawïhtiaʔenA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

ʔohapItïʔa/taka/sïkïkamatÏ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesïcï·sïsa/pahiku/taʔapïʔ/tekwaphaná-vo·pÏ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

suricahtïsoko·vi/pihayaʔïkïna·/tenapïmaʔ aiku·/waʔihpïʔa/tatáhtïkiʔ [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pïkÏrahávi?ena/piʔwesuru·ʔiʔ [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sïʔkïʔiha/taka/pahpaʔakunácaweniʔe·tï [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nïmïpïknáyïkwiʔena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakocewaʔitï/pïmatatïrohtïmaʔenA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 192 121 The problem of accounting for the large proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed, in most American Indian languages,[81] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95 % of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[80] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[81] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 words.[83] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[84]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[85] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[86]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[87] and they

[83] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [84] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[85] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[86] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [87] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

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121 are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into 197 the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke 197 a Southern American dialect. Thus, the 194 r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekīʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
c	o	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ð	c
rk	ʔr	ʒ	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66–72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148–153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdez, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34–41 (1937).

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197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ĭ, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, es-
197 pecially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.[A] Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche
192 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavirí·ʔ and poʔroʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wo·sitĭn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

[A] [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]

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197 194 192 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics correspond more closely to Spanish than English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 194 197 While Comanche pronunciation of loanwords, especially those of more recent origin, varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

128

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nI[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·paaI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

[p. 229-B]

192 diminutive); *tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate); *kamú·ta? *sweet potato, yam* (camote); *kavîrî·? *goat; sheep,*[15] *mutton* (cabra); kucára? *small spoon* (cuchara); *caré·ku? *vest* (chaleco); *ci·ra? *pepper, chili* (chile); more? *monte* (*a card game*) (monte); *naho·? *knife* (navaja); S *mu·ra? *mule* (mula); wara·cI *sandals* (huaraches); *wenu *good* (bueno).

With English model: ?aiskrim[16] *ice-cream;* ?ekī? *acre;* ?i·cin ?ecin (*Indian*) *agent;* ?uró·? *law* (?u-, *its,* + *law*); pai *pie;* paisé·? *five cents;* papko·n *pop-corn;* pa·re? *barley;* pikí·? *pig* (baby word); pi·c *beets;* pinácI[17] *peanuts;* po·kA *poker* (card game); purí·si? *police:* taks *tax, taxes;* tevo? *devil;* tehnsé·? *ten cents;* tīnīpsĪ *turnips;* to·kI *dog* (rare); tuvic *two bits,* (*25 cents*); kapiko·? *Kaffir corn;* ka·t *God;* ka?tin *cotton;* kamísīn *commission,* (*Indian*) *Commissioner;* ka·vic *cabbage;* cakawe· *it's time to eat, let's eat!* (From the American slang word, chuck, or chuckwagon); cikí·? *chick, chicken* (baby word); ci·s *cheese;* ci·sīs *Jesus;* hatīma·re? *hot tamale;* hato·kI *hot dog* (rare); hampīkī? *hamburger;* ho·kI *hog, pork;* senatī? *senator;* sikâ·rU, sikâ·? *cigar;* sikvic *six bits,* (*75 cents*); su·ta? *jack* (*in cards*) (probably from suit); makaró·ni? *macaroni;* mamá·? *mother* (baby word); marīmé·? *Milo maize;* mavo·? *marble;* merīt *millet;* wincestī? *Winchester* (*repeating rifle*); wit *wheat* (rare); wihnsé·? *one cent;* wo·sitīn *Washington,* (*D.C.*), *President of the United States;* waikin *wagon.*

[197] A number of place and personal names have been taken into Comanche from Spanish and English and are in common use. Those listed below were familiar to even those Comanche who had little or no knowl-

[15] Sheep is more commonly, pihîkavîrî·?, *hairy goat.*

[16] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives *sweet ice* for ice-cream.

[17] Detrich notes nah-vee-mee, which he translates as *carrying double* (for peanut).

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192 552 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* ciksó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); sianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 648 Early and brief French contacts have left no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99] It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

197 198 197 [192]

601 192 197 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

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[601]

the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, ˈhani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

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Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nï· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtI *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetI *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matI *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matïma? tïmï· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nïrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nïhW *two dimes.*

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Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

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[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItI, for *corn.*

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ. Comanche, however, has borrowed only one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog (green mule crier);* *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie (brown bread);* pehekatïpa·nï *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katï *possessor of* + pa·nï); *tosarohtiya? *crackers (white bread);* *ku-simu·ra? *donkey (grey mule).*

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad (fire wagon);* ci·sisa pía *Mary (Jesus' mother);* *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apó?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw hawv, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kITûhkapĬ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tĬ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

●197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[168] in the 1830s noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

[191] [563] [563]

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tĭe?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[168] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

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192 synonyms for English loans. Moreover,
197 several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century.
000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arizona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[111] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

4.6. Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·ʔ *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[111] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *?ahpï?[119] *Father (God)*; # ta?ahpï? *Our Father;* ?ahóhtavehnItÎ *Thanksgiving Day;* ?ohahpitÎ·?[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihi? *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pihïkavïrÎ·?sári·? *sheep dog;* ta?kivihu·ra? *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot);* tuhtaivo·atahtokó·? *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavïrÎ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvaikatÎ *smart, brainy* (kuhvaI *brains* + -katÎ *possessor*); kwási-raivo·arïhkapÎ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kïhta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·? *cowboy (cow White man)*; napa?e·kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narïmi? *Master*[121] *(Jesus)*; nïmïkuhcusónipÎ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings 192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awï pá, ?ohanarsopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sikwekatÎ *half got* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

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192 ʔotĭmu·raʔ *oatmeal.* Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule.* The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapéʔatĭhkapĭ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food*, tĭhkapĭ.

waʔo·rĭhkapĭ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorĭhkapĭ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

●197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodiŋ, lagéhtˀ, literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, princes or common people*, has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodiŋ, ʔihagéhtˀ, the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders*. Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

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197 rowing has gone on between Kiowa and Comanche. The examples of new Kiowa [128] words which are given below are chosen for their similarity to Comanche acculturation terms.

Kiowa has extended old meanings to apply to such traits as pencil, glue, clock, house, chewing-gum and horse. It uses a modifier, meaning *real*, to distinguish between native and new traits just as Comanche uses *White man's* and *Indian's*. Thus, *real spoon* refers to one made of buffalo horn; a *real necklace* is one made of long bone beads; *buffalo* are *real cattle;* and *real sinew* means *sinew* rather than *thread*. Many new descriptive words such as those for *whiskey, doctor, Sunday, vinegar, telegraph, automobile, fishhook, peach, beer,* and *pump* are exactly equivalent to the Comanche words for these things. And Kiowa, as Comanche, has borrowed *agent, agency, commission, five cents* and *two bits* from English.

128 Several segments of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, namely words pertaining to religion, diseases, playing cards and time and measure, will be presented in the pages to follow. These are selected as both interesting parts of the vocabulary and as examples of the amount of new vocabulary that has been added in representative areas of culture affected by White influences. Other sub-vocabularies such as those for foods and implements would, of course, bulk larger in the total vocabulary. While new descriptive compounds predominate, a few meaning extensions and loan-translations are also listed. Aside from a few minor omissions and words entered elsewhere in this paper, the lists are in all

[128] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1896), notes a related word containing tu·kwasikatĭ *black, has a tail.*

[129] In this and other words in which taivo·ʔ is used it is perhaps better translated as *man, other than Indian.* It invariably denotes belonging to an alien way of life.

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192 suffix + -nA, verbal suffix); wa·cinikapï *Christmas* (*cedar tree put up*).

197 The acculturation vocabulary described
192 in the preceding pages represents the growing point of the Comanche language. It will undoubtedly be augmented as time goes on, but at what will presumably be a diminishing rate. Although these are words of quite recent origin, there is reason to believe that once accepted in the language they are relatively stable. Of the 196 acculturation terms in the 1895 Detrich vocabulary 170 are identical to those collected by the author. These are marked with an asterisk in the lists above. Eighteen, while recognizably similar, vary somewhat from their later form and 7 are completely different from words collected in 1940. The latter are words for *fork*, *glue*, *hoe*, *peanut*, a second word for *bean*, and two terms for *potatoes*. The remaining word is that for quinine, tosanacu?U *white medicine*, for which no word was collected by the author.

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION III

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5. Some other effects of acculturation on Comanche language and speech
5.1. Comanche bilingualism
6. On Comanche personal names
7. Theoretical conclusions

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5. At the same time that Comanche has added new vocabulary, old words have been sloughed off or have become obsolescent.[133] Even when the word remains, as is the case with many meaning extensions, knowledge of the original referent is often lost. Just as the average American today has little acquaintance with terms for the parts of a horse's harness, types of horse-drawn vehicles, or sailing ships and their rigging, the Comanche lost a wealth of terms for such things as basketry types, various weaves[134] and implements such as the metate and mano, and fishtraps when they entered the Plains. Similarly, words for traits of Plains culture lost or displaced in the transition to Western culture are rapidly disappearing from the language, as is the full and colorful vocabulary of plant and animal names of a people who for centuries had lived by hunting and food-gathering. However, owing to both the conservatism of language and the memories of men, old traits, customs and beliefs are often fossilized in words and may be recovered by means of a little linguistic archaeology.

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The following is a representative list of half-forgotten words:

?e·nA *jerk meat*(l); ?ohahpíya·? *wasp (yellow carried behind)*; ?ohana?supé·? *wild gourd (yellow ball)* [A gourd was formerly

[133] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440, pp. 438–40 (1943), discusses this point.

[134] See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, pp. 239 and 241, (1941).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
191 steadily eclipsed by English which today
has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
177 the language is far and away the most vitally
functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[149] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[149] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
197 occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new
177 terms are those for material aspects of White culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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where one might expect to find the greatest proliferation of abstract terms is likewise relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture. Linton mentions the great preoccupation of the Comanche with the dog,[150] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[151] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed, the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[152] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

The list of terms omitted from the acculturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-

[150] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428-29 (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[151] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[152] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[A .252 A]

177 structive as those included in it. The fact
197 that a trait of Western culture is not named
192 does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or
177 scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtïman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapï *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 Finally, we may say that while Comanche
197 contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language
197 has preserved its essential form. Comanche
192 has reacted by adapting itself to new cultural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[113] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[114]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[115]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113] [113] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153-64 (1926).

[114] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335-45 (1948).

[115] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

[p.253-A]

121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the native culture. Thus, the extension of co·mO 121 192 which now refers to *modern beads of various materials*, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates 197 that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

121 4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue 192 was to be found in the native culture. Thus, the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU 197 *water beard horse*, indicates the absence of 121 watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

[p. 254-A]

121 192 197 of the old and the new, such extensions often afford clues not only as to how new traits are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] [192] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[148] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2**.)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 192 197 10. The longer a loanword has been in a language the greater the tendency for it to acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 177 192 11. The linguistic source of a loanword will suggest the provenience of a new cultural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[148] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

[p. 254-B]

121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
● 197 strong likelihood that it is an older word: piesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of
197 relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*; in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
177 mate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

James 175
Mooney estimates that in 1690 they numbered no 101
more than 1,600 souls.[2] [161]

To the south resided the Utes, who may be regarded as linguistic cousins of the Comanches since [197]
they also spoke the Shoshonean language. The Utes 175
occupied the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado, and from this vantage point they maintained close contact with the Spanish and with the Pueblos and Navajos in New Mexico. From the Utes, the Comanches must have first learned of these peoples, and from them too, they may have acquired their first horses.

By 1700 or earlier, the Comanches had begun to shift their camps southward and eastward. No doubt, they were drawn by the possibility of obtaining mounts, but at the same time they may have been starting to feel pressure from stronger tribes to the north, particularly the Blackfoot and Crow. An added attraction to the south and east were the plains teeming with buffalo and antelope.

The first Comanches drifting southward joined Ute 175
parties who were accustomed to trade in the Spanish 648
settlements and the large Indian pueblos of Taos and Picuris. Thus were the rustics from the northern wilderness introduced to the material refinements of more advanced peoples. Surely the whites would 175
have shuddered could they have envisioned the cen- 721
tury and a half of bloody warfare that was to follow 648
upon the Comanche entry into the Southwest.

The first persons against whom the Comanches displayed their prowess in war were the Apaches who roamed the hills and plains northeast of Taos. As early as 1706, a combined Comanche-Ute raiding

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight*, where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual
121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long*, paˈpaʔatə *long(redup.)*. In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem təˈka-), təkəɒəni-nəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem təkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely
197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of
197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[13] [4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106-109 (1949).

[p. 230-B]

197 pirate consonants, while consonant clusters are not at all rare in the Uto-Aztecan lan-
197 guage family. Comanche preaspirates may
194 correspond to simple consonants in cognate languages. cf. So. Paiute yəŋə, Com. yə'nə? *porcupine*; Tübatulabal tək-, So. Paiute təq.a, Com. tə'ka- *to eat*; So. Paiute qan.i-, Tübatulabal hani, Com. ka'nI *house*; So. Paiute ap.əi-, Com. ?a'pəi- *to sleep (sing.)*; So. Paiute aq.əi-, Com. ?ə'ko?i- *to sleep (pl.)*.

194 **4.** Vowels. Only one analysis is presented for the vowels; these are voiced and voiceless.

Voiced: i, e, a, o, u, ə. Vowel ə is a high, unrounded vowel varying from central to back position. Vowels i, e, o, u vary from close to open varieties; a varies to [ʌ] in unstressed position. Examples: piapə *big*, tena'pə? *man*, papI *hair*, sonipə *grass*, hunubI *creek*, wənə-nə? *I stop*.

Voiceless: I, E, A, O, U, ə. These are of the same quality as their corresponding voiced vowels. In normal speech, utterance medial ə appears somewhat shorter than other voiceless vowels.[5] Examples: ?ekabItə

[5] This fact has given rise to still another interpretation of Comanche phonemes: namely that of considering voiceless, when occurring in medial position, as aspiration of the preceding consonant. See Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93-99 (1949), where the form təkəbanitu-
[113] ?i-nə? *I will always be eating*, is transcribed [tIkʰ-binituʔi-nIʔ]. This interpretation admits of a

[p. 231-A]

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

By J. A. Dacus

Popular author and member of the staff of the St. Louis Republican, *1871-80. Condensed from an article in* Ware's Valley Monthly, *Volume I, Number 1, St. Louis, May, 1875.*

The Comanches: An Ethnological Sketch
(ca 1870)

The Comanches number about fifteen thousand souls. Their former range extended from the sources of the Rio Brazos and Rio Colorado, of Texas, northward to the Canadian, and westward to the mountains of Colorado and New Mexico, and thence southward to the Rio Grande and the Mexican settlements of Nueva Leon and Coahuila. They are generally classed with the great nomadic Apache family. But the points of resemblance, I believe, are not sufficiently distinct to justify the classification. In form, feature, and language they have little likeness or affinity to the Apaches. Their traditions and symbolism and language, all point to a relationship with the Shoshones. The difference in the language spoken by these tribes is only dialectal. The separation must have taken place in the remote past. The cause which led to that separation, it is probable, will never be ascertained.

The name, Comanche, by which the people under consideration are distinguished, is not of their own bestowal. They call themselves *Neum*, which signifies men—the first, or original men. It is probable that their present name is a corruption of the Spanish word comenzar (pronounced comanthar), which signifies "to begin." The Comanches assert that they are THE *men*—the beginning men—or first men. In the effort to impart their distinctive claim, to strangers, they no doubt made use of signs signifying a commencement or beginning, and hence received from the early Spanish adventurers the title, *Los Pueblos Comenzar*: "The people to begin," or the beginning people. It was afterward corrupted to Comanche, instead of Comenzar.

The Comanches are nomads, but not pastoral. They have horses, but keep no cattle, or sheep. They not do cultivate the soil, and confess themselves ignorant of the simplest arts of agriculture. Their food is procured by the chase. The women sometimes collect a few roots and plants, and some of the indigenous fruits of the plains, such as plums, certain kinds of berries, and the fig-like fruits of a species of cactus found on the Wichita

[p. 333]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

1

The Comanches

Historical Background

THE WORD "COMANCHE" first appeared shortly after 1700 in the records of the colonial administration of the Spanish settlements in the vicinity of Santa Fe, New Mexico. For a long while the etymology of the word was not fully understood since no similar root appeared in the Spanish language. In 1943 some light was thrown on this problem by Marvin K. Opler, in his article "The Origin of Comanche and Ute," who reported that *komanticia* was a Ute word for "enemy." It was applied by the Utes to the Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa before 1726. After this period the Comanches became the major enemies of the Utes, and the word became specifically applied to them. The Comanches were first introduced to the Spanish in New Mexico by the Utes, and thus the word entered the Spanish language from which it was later borrowed into English as "Comanche."

The Comanches are speakers of the Uto-Aztecan language family in much the same sense as the English-speaking peoples are members of the Indo-European language family. The Uto-Aztecan group is divided into three major branches—Shoshonean, Sonoran, and Nahuatlan. The Shoshonean speakers are centered in the Great Basin regions of western North America. The Shoshonean branch can be further divided into Ute-Chemehuevi, Mano-Bannock, and Shoshone-Comanche. The northern Shoshone and Comanche languages are mutually intelligible, and the differences that exist rest on slight phonetic shifts, not in grammatical structure or form. My Comanche informants noted that the Shoshone Indians speak "Comanche"; however, they speak it rapidly and cut vocalization of their words short. It is from the great similarity in the Comanche and Shoshone languages that the derivation of the Comanche from a Shoshonean parent stock is posited by most authors.

221
224 **The Comanche were nomad buffalo**
hunters, constantly on the move, cultiva-
ting little from the ground, and living
181 **in skin tipis. They were long noted as the**
finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) **reputation for dash and courage. They**
have a high sense of honor and hold
themselves superior to the other tribes
142 **with which they are associated. In per-**
son they are well built and rather corpu-
• 197 **lent. Their language is the trade lan-**
guage of the region and is more or less
understood by all the neighboring tribes.
[194] **It is sonorous and flowing, its chief char-**
acteristic being a rolling *r*. The lan-
guage has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times. Of these all but 5 are practically extinct. The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
[115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; KotSoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Temawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*. (J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1905 (so called by the French; see *Ke'-ma-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dalk'inago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1013, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadoues.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 160, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camaraches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 (Chaving many horses'; Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Caunouche.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-nainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonny Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Comanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 450, 1848. **Comanchere.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 36, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1756) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 89, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 356, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Scouts of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumanias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Shermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-aé.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1013, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indé.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

Federal Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes)
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma

This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.